



THE NATIONAL *Voter*

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE U. S.

1026 17th STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

Person To Person, League Style

January 9 will mark the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Carrie Chapman Catt, woman suffrage immortal.

When she was 13 years old, the then Carrie Lane saw her father and the hired men on the family farm in Iowa dressed in their best clothes to go into town to vote in the 1872 presidential election. Her mother was still in a house dress.

"Why mother," she said, "you're not going to town in that dress, are you?" "No, Carrie," her mother replied, "I'm not going to town." "What!" cried the little girl, "you're not going to vote?" The men, even the mother, laughed. The daughter was completely bewildered to hear that only men could vote. The concept that women were inferior to men in anything but physical strength was new to the child, and it started a train of thought that dominated her life from then on.

Another 13 years and she was active in the woman suffrage movement in Iowa. In 1895 she became organization chairman for the National American Woman Suffrage Association. In 1900 she became president of the NAWSA, serving four years. In 1915 she again became president and led the fight until the woman suffrage amendment was written into the Constitution in 1919 and ratified in 1920.

Then she put her mantle on the League of Women Voters. Its name was taken from Mrs. Catt's remarks in her call to the 1919 convention of the NAWSA: "As a fitting memorial to a half century of prog-

ress, the association invites the women voters of the 15 full suffrage states to attend this anniversary and there to join their forces in a League of Women Voters, one of whose objects shall be to speed the suffrage campaign in our own and other countries."

In those last three words—"and other countries"—lies the other great goal of the suffrage leader's ambition. Indeed, the 10 years between her two terms as president of the NAWSA were spent in furthering the cause of woman suffrage in other countries.

Two "Fitting Memorials"

As she gave the League of Women Voters its name, and served as honorary president until her death in 1947, so, upon her death, the League established a fund in her name. As it is the purpose of the League of Women Voters to promote political responsibility through informed and active participation of citizens in government in this country, so it is the purpose of the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund to increase the knowledge of individual men and women in all parts of the world about the structures and problems of democratic government.

LWV members know how the League carries out its purpose. They know less about the work of the CCCMF. On the eve of the birthday centennial of the woman whose life work inspired the founding of both, there is reason to look more closely at what the CCCMF does and how the League helps CCCMF do it.

CCCMF sometimes works, and issues publications, in the domestic field. But it is best known, and increasingly so, for its work in the international field. Even some of its publications originally designed for use in this country have been translated for use in other countries. "Simplified Parliamentary Procedure" has been translated into Arabic, Bengali, German, Greek, Italian, Japanese, Portuguese, Spanish, Turkish, Urdu. "You in the U.S.A.," an orientation primer for newcomers to this country, came out at the time of the 1956 Hungarian revolution and was published in Hungarian as well as in English. Recently a request came from an editor in Japan to translate the booklet into Japanese.

The work of the CCCMF which is making not only its name but also that of the League of Women Voters known in every corner of the world is the exchange-of-persons program. Several typical examples current this month will serve to illustrate.

Two-Way Street

The effort of CCCMF in the international relations field, in both aim and practice, has from the beginning been truly an "exchange"—learning from other countries while other countries learn from us.

Mrs. Oscar M. Ruebhausen, former member of the national Board of the League and since 1946 Official Observer for the League at the United Nations, is in South America from November 6 to December 6, representing the League on a grant from CCCMF. She is one of about 30

U.S. organization representatives participating in a people-to-people exchange in eight cities in South America. She is there to learn.

While she is there, two citizens of a South American country are in this country, also on a grant from CCCMF. They are here to learn. They are from Argentina—Mrs. Celia Adriana Garcia Ortega deBerzero from Buenos Aires, and Mrs. Iris Ferrari Carson deMiri from Mendoza.

The first thing Mrs. deBerzero and Mrs. deMiri did was to report to the CCCMF for briefing before setting out on a two-months visit to 10 cities. And the first thing CCCMF did was to bring them to the national office of the League.

How Local Leagues Help

Assisting Mrs. deBerzero and Mrs. deMiri to observe local government in operation are the local Leagues of Englewood, New Jersey; Stamford, and West Hartford, Connecticut; Cleveland, and Shaker Heights, Ohio; Indianapolis, Indiana; Minneapolis, and Rochester, Minnesota; Burlington, Iowa; New York City. Before they set out on their tour, CCCMF took the visitors to several federal government departments, to the Pan American Union, and to the headquarters of the two major political parties. When Congress is in session, CCCMF also takes foreign visitors to "the Hill," where they attend public hearings and sometimes talk with Representatives and Senators.

Both Mrs. deBerzero and Mrs. deMiri are lawyers, also professors. Mrs. deBerzero is a member of and attorney for the League of Housewives, and is particularly interested in the problem of juvenile delinquency. Mrs. deMiri is a founder member and legal counselor for the Center for the Civic Education of Women. Mrs. deBerzero plans to report her findings by a campaign of civic education throughout Argentina through lectures and educational courses; she will use the information on juvenile delinquency to help bring about creation of youth bureaus and training schools in each province of Argentina. Mrs. deMiri will use her study of citizenship education, particularly as carried on by the League, in lectures to her students and in radio broadcasts.

Since 1956 CCCMF has endeavor-



Masaru Hirose of Osaka-fu and Naoji Yoshida of Tokyo, two of seven Japanese in the United States to observe election procedures, are briefed in the Washington office of CCCMF by Mrs. Winfield W. Riefler, former member of the League's national Board.

ed to foster closer cooperation with Latin America. In that year it sent Mrs. John Gillin, former president of the League of Women Voters of North Carolina, on an exploratory trip. She speaks Spanish fluently and has lived in South America. She familiarized herself with women's organizations in several countries of South and Central America, and distributed Spanish translations of CCCMF's "Simplified Parliamentary Procedure" and "Handbook for Leaders of Organizations." Following up Mrs. Gillin's work, a workshop on organization techniques was conducted in Brazil by Mrs. Leonard Rall, a former member of the League's state Board in Michigan, then living in São Paulo. In Argentina, 17 women's groups (League of Housewives was one) which hitherto had had no common goal formed the Intercambio (interchange). Intercambio invited Mrs. Emil Chanlett, a member of the League's state Board of North Carolina, then living in Peru, to visit Buenos Aires and describe the role of women in political and civic life in the United States, especially the work of the League. Intercambio's president and past president were visitors at the League's 1958 Convention. And the initial project of the Intercambio was to select Mrs. deBerzero and Mrs. deMiri to make an exchange visit to the United States.

Not all visitors are routed to CCCMF in such a roundabout way. Most visitors come to CCCMF via organizations under contract with the U. S. Department of State to carry out the exchange-of-persons program of the federal government. Govern-

mental Affairs Institute is one such organization; others include the International Center of the American Council on Education, and the Foreign Student Service Council.

The Government's exchange-of-persons program encompasses many categories of foreign visitors. Those routed to the CCCMF are usually civic leaders. Several such groups are in the United States now, and CCCMF aid was enlisted by the State Department and other governmental agencies. One group consists of seven representatives of the Japanese Autonomy Agency's Election Bureau—six men and one woman—sent by the Japanese government.

Another group, in this country for three months, is composed of five Indonesian women leaders. Leagues in Buffalo, Syracuse, and Ithaca, New York, and in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, are cooperating with other organizations in those communities to explain U.S. governmental processes. This month many local Leagues took foreign visitors to League candidates meetings, and to polling places on Election Day.

In 1957, a total of 78 foreign visitors, of whom 28 were men, were seen by the Washington office of CCCMF; they came as individuals. In addition, there were many groups who were briefed as groups.

Most Countries Represented

Since CCCMF was established in 1947, the Washington office has given briefings to more than 1,500 individuals from 83 countries. Of these countries, 65 are numbered among the 81 members of the United Nations; the other 18 are either independent nations not yet in the U.N. or colonies such as the British West Indies.

When CCCMF was established, the chief function was to answer appeals from abroad in the postwar period, calls for help in understanding how a democracy works, especially from women newly enfranchised. In 1947 it was thought that this demand was a temporary phenomenon and that CCCMF would not need to function more than five years. Instead, it has expanded to include men as well as women, and to reach remote parts of the globe. It is now an integral part of the world-wide exchange of persons, a new and growing phase of human history.

A Report from the Hill

Loyalty-Security

Loyalty and security measures were not a major preoccupation of the 85th Congress. But this Congress, with little debate or attention, just missed extending the federal employee security program to cover non-sensitive as well as sensitive positions.

The legislation which would have done this (S.1411 as amended, countermanding the Supreme Court decision in *Cole v. Young* which limited the program to those in sensitive positions) passed the House by the overwhelming vote of 295 yeas to 46 nays.

It almost passed the Senate, too. A bill with the same number but making only a minor change in the security program had been given Senate approval during the first session of the 85th Congress. Only an appeal to Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson in the closing hours of the second session prevented a vote's being taken on the amended bill in such a routine manner that it is quite possible the bill would have been passed.

The irony of the near enactment of this legislation lies in the fact that those administering the security program seemed satisfied with the status quo and that the Wright Commission on Government Security report, issued in June 1957, had not had committee consideration.

What Happened?

S.1411 had two lives, or at least two personalities, during its trip through Congress. As originally passed by the Senate August 8, 1957, the bill (introduced at the request of the Attorney General) would have permitted employees against whom charges had been filed to remain on the job while investigations and hear-

ings were being conducted; it would have made summary suspension discretionary rather than mandatory.

After it was passed by the Senate it was sent to the House and referred to the Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

This Committee had been holding hearings on H.R.981, a bill introduced by Representative Walter (D., Pa.) to override the Supreme Court's *Cole v. Young* decision of June 1956. The Walter bill held all Government employees to be employed in "an activity of the government involving national security," thus re-extending the coverage of the security program to nonsensitive positions as well as sensitive. Spokesmen for federal employee groups at these hearings were critical of the lack of procedural safeguards in this bill. Representatives Walter and Murray (D., Tenn.), Chairman of the Committee, declared that it was needed as a stop-gap to meet the emergency caused by the *Cole v. Young* decision. Others disputed the contention that there was an emergency situation.

The metamorphosis of S.1411 occurred after the close of these hearings, when the discretionary suspension bill was referred to the House Committee. The majority of the House Committee agreed to delete all the Senate language of the bill after the phrase "Be it enacted" and the language of the Walter bill was substituted. S.1411 as amended provided for re-extension of the security program to all federal employees. Some procedural safeguards, such as appeal rights to the Civil Service Commission, were included to meet criticism of H.R.981 made during the hearings. The discretionary suspension power as provided in the original Senate bill was also included.

On August 20, 1957, the Committee reported to the House this new version of the legislation. Almost a year went by before this bill was again called to the attention of Congress. In the meantime it languished on the Union Calendar of the House, a sort of limbo where reported bills (usually concerned with appropriating or spending money) are listed until a rule is granted or some other

method is used to bring them to the floor for debate.

On The House Floor

Then without warning the bill started moving rapidly. On July 9, 1958, Chairman Murray of the House Committee went to the Rules Committee and obtained a rule allowing him to bring up the bill on the floor.

The following day the bill was called up and a brief but spirited debate ensued, in the course of which members of the House were reminded three times that the League of Women Voters opposed the bill (nobody said why). Also, a letter from the Justice Department received that day was read on the floor by Representative Dennison (R., Ohio) stating that "the interests of the individual employee as well as of the government would best be served by deferring any legislative action relating to this program until the executive branch has completed its study of the recommendations of the Commission on Government Security." Even so, the bill was enthusiastically passed.

The bill, because it had been so radically changed in the House, was sent back to the Senate and referred to the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee instead of going directly to a Conference Committee. It was rumored that there it would die, for the Senate Committee members were known to oppose the provisions the House had included.

Jockeying For Place

The story of S.1411 as amended here becomes entangled with two other bills which had passed the Senate in 1957, gone to the House and been referred to the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee. These were S.25, to speed up the

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effective date of wage increases to wage board employees, and S.607, providing pensions for former Presidents of the United States.

The House Committee had given no attention to either. But when Congress began clearing up odds and ends of legislation in preparation for adjournment, the two Committees began maneuvering to get these three bills passed. On July 17 the House Committee reported S.25 and S.607 and both were placed on the House Calendar.

Interestingly enough, on July 18 the Senate Committee's Subcommittee on Civil Service held a hearing on S.1411 as amended. Representatives of the four major federal employee organizations spoke in opposition to the bill and Chairman Ellsworth of the Civil Service Commission also commented unfavorably. After the hearing Senator Morton (R., Ky.) said he did not think it would come out of Committee.

But 11 days later, when the House still had taken no action on S.25 and S.607, the Senate agreed to go to Conference on S.1411 as amended.

This same day, July 29, the House passed S.25 and, the next day, S.607. Both bills had been amended, making it necessary for them, as well as the federal employee security measure, to have their differing versions ironed out in conferences.

At this time all three bills disappeared from the pages of the Congressional Record, which carries reports of floor action and Committee activities and lists meetings of conferences.

Into The Home Stretch

Then on August 10 the Federal Spotlight column of the *Washington Star* carried an account of a stormy conference session on the security bill. The Conference had met August 8. Angry words were heard coming from the conference room, it was reported, and "the session broke up when the conferees stalked out of the meeting room after a few minutes, without setting a date for another session."

On August 13 Federal Spotlight reported "there is still hope that tempers may cool . . . and that the conferees will schedule another session on the security bill within the next few days. This could break the log jam on the other employee measures."

On August 16, S.607 emerged from conference and the Senate agreed to the conference report that day, the House on August 21.

On August 21 the conferees on S.1411 as amended came to a compromise agreement by writing a termination date of July 30, 1959, into the bill. Senators Clark (D., Pa.) and Church (D., Idaho) refused to sign the report.

The next day both Houses adopted the conference report on S.25 and the House passed the report on S.1411 as amended.

Only one day of the session remained. Action had been completed on the two bills in which the Senate was interested. And only Senate action remained to be taken on the security bill.

At this point 12 Senators, led by Senator Clark, wrote a letter to Senator Lyndon Johnson asking for time to speak against the bill on the floor. Other Senators made oral requests for time to enter the debate. But Senator Johnson, who as Majority Leader controlled the time to be allotted for floor discussion, was looking for no more lengthy debate. Most members were pressing for adjournment. S.1411 as amended did not come to the floor and so died with the Congress.

But The Issue Lives On

The confusion and bickering which went on during the final weeks of this bill's history seem comparable to the confusion which had marked its hesitating way through the whole legislative process and which rises to the surface whenever the loyalty-security issue comes up in public discussion.

Resentment toward the Supreme Court and some of its recent decisions is a component of this confusion. So too is lack of understanding of existing laws providing for removal procedures for disloyal employees, in either sensitive or non-sensitive positions.

Adding to the confusion is the fact that if the security program had been re-extended under S.1411 as amended, federal employees would have gained appeal rights which they do not now have.

The issues which kept S.1411 as amended alive through two years of congressional juggling are still present and have not been resolved at all. With a new Congress it is more than likely that they will be given another airing.

In a recent book, "Loyalty and Security, Employment Tests in the United States," by Ralph S. Brown, Jr., law professor at Yale University, the author says: "As long as there is a widespread and deeply held public feeling against Communists in public employment, that feeling is entitled to some expression. There is no denial of a constitutional right in closing government jobs to people who will not support our form of government or whose primary allegiance is to another government."

As for the "personnel security programs," he says that they are "like an expensive military establishment, a necessity that few of us would be bold enough to forego. But just as we economize (I hope) in our military outlays, so we should also economize in our internal security measures. Their cost is measured not cheaply in dollars but in the more precious coin of liberty and dignity. The greatest wrong that is committed in the name of security is to glorify its name." He concludes:

"The essential thing to do with the security programs is to restrict their coverage. If they affected fewer people, they would be far more tolerable."

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